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SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE

COMING CIVILIZATION

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Fourteenth Year

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Comment on Passing Events

By Eric Heath
There were ten thousand maskers at the New Year's ball of the party in Chicago. The Seventh Regiment army was used.

Somewhat the third term idea for Roosevelt does not meet with just the reception from the American people that the alone-holy reform Republicans hoped for. Insurgency is simply an old party political game.

Henny's attack on the United States constitution will make some good people begin to think that there may be something wrong with that document after all. Thomas Jefferson, the Socialists, and now Henny—human right is looking up!

England is moving rapidly toward Socialism, according to the view of the Rev. Robert Whitaker who has just returned to San Francisco from an European trip. The old parties are breaking up, he says, and only the Socialists have a real program.

Sound a little funny, doesn't it, to note the Rev. Father Yorko of San Francisco, one of the boosters of Mayor Schmitz, also of the same faith, who was finally caught in his widespread official thievery, looks odd, certainly, to see this self-same Father Yorko, issuing warnings against Socialism and the Socialists!

Of course it is possible that I am prejudiced, but it seems to me that the usual run of reasons against Socialism are about the worst twaddle that a stupid brain can conjure up. And the growth of Socialism among the people seems to endorse my estimate. And where a reason is not foolish it is generally dishonest.

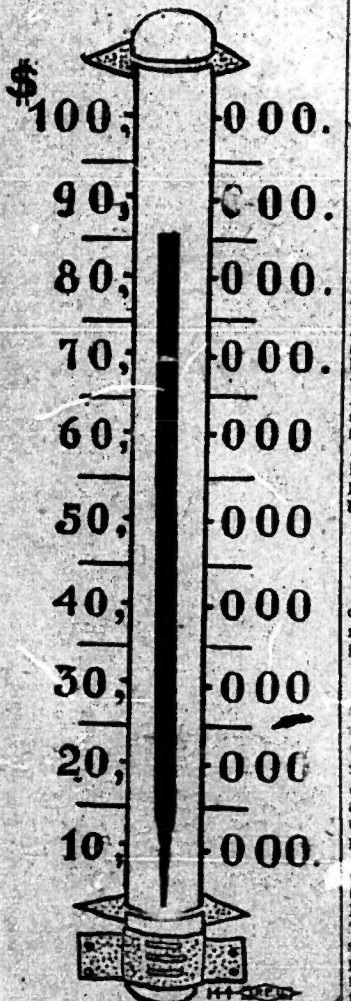
The old line statesmen in congress have discovered that the lone Socialist member is every bit their match in debate and a master of repartee such as they had not looked for when it was announced that the working class had at last elected a member of the lower house. Comrade Berger always gets a respectful hearing when he takes the floor, and he always has something to say.

Big as we think it, the Socialist organized movement in this country is only in its swaddling clothes. It has years of struggle before it before it actually clarifies and settled down to be a compact force for straight International Social-Democratic principles. This is bound to be so with a party that covers almost a continent, as compared with European nations, and which is

TO OUR BOND PURCHASERS.

Delivery of the bonds which were issued to enable us to publish The Leader and which were promised to be ready on or about December 1, 1911, is unavoidably delayed. Nearly 20,000 signatures are required. As the signers are all busy—more than busy—it was possible to sign only at odd moments and at night after regular work. Then all of the 4,000 bonds must be sealed and folded. Since there are about 4,000 bond holders, envelopes for this number must be written. In addition, blank receipts must be filled out, a record must be made, and bonds, receipts and a copy of the trust mortgage enclosed in each of the 4,000 envelopes.

We are working on the job every moment we can get, day and night. In view of the tremendous job, and because we are hustling all we can to make delivery, we ask our bond purchasers to be patient. It may be another two or three weeks before the bonds are ready for delivery. THE LEADER.



The Daily Bonds
This Week - \$36,310
Last Week - \$86,300
GAIN - \$ 10

SOCIETY'S DUTY TO THE AGED

BY VICTOR L. BERGER

There can be no doubt that the condition of the aged workers has grown worse in this country during the last thirty years.

And for this reason:
Our country is rapidly changing from an agricultural to a manufacturing country.

On the farm it is comparatively easy to take care of the aged. Especially was it so in former days when living was cheap.

There is plenty of room on the farm. And even old people can usually do chores—enough to make up for the slight expense of their keep.

It is thus no special hardship for their friends and relatives to take care of them.

The case is entirely different with the urban workers. The maintenance of their old folks by the wage earners of the cities—especially where these men and women have children to take care of—is nowadays simply impossible.

Aged working men and women therefore soon become objects of private or public charity.

After having lived a life of usefulness, the working men and the working women of the country—the men and women who create

all wealth—are usually subject to all the indignities, the sordidness and misery of the poorhouse or the system of "outdoor relief."

No wonder there are so many tragedies. Men and women of finer sensibilities prefer death to this humiliation.

The aim of every normal man and woman is an old age free from care and want. To that end most of them toil patiently and live closely, seeking to save something against the day when they can earn no more. And yet the same fate awaits the overwhelming mass of them.

In the life of the toiler there are weeks, and sometimes months, of enforced idleness, losses from cheating and swindling, and then, as age creeps on about his forty-fifth year, a constantly declining capacity to earn, until at fifty-five or sixty he finds himself helpless and destitute.

There is hardly a more pitiful tragedy than the lot of the toiler who has struggled all his life to gain a competence and who at sixty years faces the poorhouse.

The black slave had no such tragedy as this. It is a tragedy reserved for the free worker in the

freest country on the globe.

There can be no question as to the right of these men and women to be taken care of decently in their old age. They have made civilization possible for everybody, and especially for the comfortable classes.

As I said before, from their earnings—the average is about \$400 a year—it is absolutely impossible for them to save anything for their old age.

Even if they should descend to a Chinese standard of living they could not, as a mass, lay by a competence. They would thereby diminish trade, cause hard times, and change our civilization. But they could not, under our present system, secure themselves against want in their old age.

Realizing this, many great private corporations are now establishing old-age pensions for their employees. This tendency has been applauded by the very men who oppose government pensions for the aged.

But there are two great objections to old-age pensions by private corporations.

In order to gain a pension from a corporation, it is necessary for the workman to tie himself to

the corporation for life. In order not to lose the pension, the workman or woman must be satisfied with his or her wage, laboring conditions and hours of labor. This subjection makes the laborer virtually a serf or slave and establishes a new feudalism.

The second objection to private old-age pensions is that the system smacks of charity. It causes the worker to feel that some one owns him. The private system results in the bestowal of too much power in the hands of the employer over his workers.

Everybody in America readily understands why soldiers are entitled to pensions. It is because soldiers render service on the field of battle which is considered dangerous to life and limb.

But few people realize that the number of wage earners killed and maimed every year on the railroads, in the mines, factories, and other industries in our country is approximately equal to the number of soldiers killed and wounded in any one year of our great civil war, with all its terrible battles.

Moreover, there are any number of occupational diseases which are the natural result of certain kinds of necessary work, but which make total or partial invalids of hun-

dreds of thousands of wage earners. The work of the soldier of industry is infinitely more necessary than the bloody work of the soldier on the battlefield. Most of the labor performed must be performed every day and every hour, or our civilization would stop.

The aged working men and working women have therefore a claim on society that is even better than the claim of the soldier.

Any toiler who has faithfully labored for a meager wage for twenty years or more has created more wealth than a pension in old age can repay. Every toiler produces more than he is paid. Otherwise he would not be employed. It is a condition of the capitalist order of society that the employer must get the lion's share of the product.

The word "pension" in this case is a misnomer. The payment ought to be called either "partial restitution" or "old folks' compensation."

The working men and working women of this country are entitled to be taken care of in their old age.

And they will be taken care of in the future.

And He Called for His Fiddlers Three!



KAUTSKY'S VIEWS ON TERRORIST TACTICS

An American Social-Democrat has written Kautsky, the great German Socialist, relative to the controversy in this country over the near-anarchism of the Bill Haywood variety, and asking for an opinion on the position of Morris Hillquit, of the national executive board, who challenged the Socialism of Haywood and his advocacy of lawlessness. Kautsky approves of Hillquit's stand, and says:

"I only wish to add completeness to that which he (Hillquit) has said, to give a materialistic foundation for our lawfulness, which at the same time shows the relations under which this lawfulness holds good."

Milwaukee Tax Rate Lower

There lie before me three clippings, one from The Devere Republican, another from The Catholic Standard and Times of Philadelphia, and the third from a corporation journal called Public Service, of Chicago—and they all peddle the same falsehood about the Milwaukee Socialists having piled up a million dollars increase in the city budget. These are only three samples of many like clippings that have been sent to my good watchful comrades. The actual facts are that there were increased expenditures of some \$700,000, but that these increases came mostly from departments of city administration over which the city administration had no control. Milwaukee does not have home rule. It is largely at the mercy of the legislature.

"As the starting point of my analysis I would like to take the class struggle of the proletariat. The main weapon of the proletariat is its 'large numbers.' Only through its 'large numbers' can the proletariat maintain its grip on its victory. This presupposes the long existence of unified activity and organization, and this is only possible as an open public organization, but that means also a legal organization. In an illegal conspiratorial manner only individuals can be organized, but not the masses."

"Everything that makes the open organization of workmen harder or seeks to divert the interest of the workers from such open organization is to be rejected."

Under the law the schools are entitled to spend a certain amount of money, to be raised by taxation, and the city government has nothing to say. When Dave R. was mayor, in order to please a certain church school building were put up and the town was peppered with school barracks. The school department is having an expensive time of it in catching up. Its expenditures last year were \$190,000 more than the year before. The fire and police department spent \$36,000 more, and so on. As a matter of fact the tax rate in Milwaukee this year is four cents in the thousand lower than last year. That tells the real story. But it is too much to expect the papers I have quoted, and the others of the same stripe, to tell the actual facts. Their inclinations and interests do not run in that direction.

workers from such open organization is to be rejected to

"Where the legal right and foundation for such proletarian mass organization has not been won yet, there, to be sure, we must secure (patient) legality, we must organize legally, secretly, and carry on an illegal, secret propaganda, just as they do in Russia. Our object is to carry on the propaganda most best, however, to win in the legal right for such organization and propaganda."

"Whenever we have won this legal right, however, or already find it in operation, we must make use of it and avoid anything which might place to jeopardy this legal basis, which means also avoid every form of lawlessness. Even where our opponents disregard this established legal right in their practices, we must not do the same—at least not until these illegal practices of our opponents go so far that it makes it impossible for us to gain influence over the masses in a legal way. We must under such circumstances teach the masses to protect against the illegality of their opponents—and this we could not do if we are ourselves going to preach and practice lawlessness."

"But even where there is no legal basis for the organization of the masses, where we are, therefore, forced to resort to illegal organization and action, we ought ever to preach and practice as 'individual' struggle against the property laws."

"We must not forget that private

property rests not alone upon laws that were created by the ruling classes, but also upon an ethical sentiment, which is a product of thousands and thousands of years of development in society and which is alive in the toiling proletariat, as well as in the peasantry and in the middle class. On the contrary, the practices of the capitalist class show greater disregard for the sanctity of private property than the practices of wage earners. The mass of wage workers despise the thief. The capitalists bow reverentially for the successful big thief.

"To preach the individual struggle against property means to turn the interest of the workers from mass action to individual action. In other words, to turn their interests from effective to the ineffective form of action."

The individual struggle against property takes us out of the ranks of the masses of wage earners and brings us in contact with the slum proletariat (dump-proletariat). The conditions of existence and struggle of this class are entirely different from those of the wage-earning class. Just as the former are indispensable to the well being of society, so the latter, the slum proletariat, are useless, yes, even harmful, for they are pure parasites."

Contact with the slum proletariat and acceptance of its ways and methods can not but compromise and disorganize the proletarian movement. This is bound to happen all the more, because the proletarian elements, which foster such methods, invariably fall victims to provocative agents and spies."

The ruling class have every reason to encourage individual action against property and life of individuals, because, through this, they can hurt the cause of the working masses. For this purpose they employ spies and incite the hobnob with those elements that are inclined to individual action. Never yet has a ruling class employed provocative methods to advance the legal, open organization of the masses. This form of organization our enemies fear. It can jeopardize their power."

The champions of individual action find themselves surrounded on every step by spies whom they can not differentiate from their real comrades. All such movements have at all times dissolved themselves into wide distrust of every one against every one else, while the open, legal action of the masses invariably strengthens the faith of the individual in his comrades and promotes and strengthens his cause."

That the commission should accept such an infamous offer is not surprising when it is noted that Senator Sutherland of Utah, the arch-reactionary of the upper house, is chairman, and W. O. Brown, president of the New York Central railroad, is a member of this body. In fact the entire body is packed with reactionaries.

There is nothing in the proposed workmen's compensation bill which requires any sacrifice on the part of the railroads. In fact, it is a wishy-washy affair, originally drafted by the hypocritical Civic Federation. The railroads have the best protection in all the provisions of the proposed bill.

Capitalists Watch Washington.

Organized capital has a strong grip upon Washington.

Besides having its picked men in the

(Continued on 6th page)

Stockholders' Annual Meeting

To the Stockholders of the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co.

You are hereby notified of the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co., to be held at Eriebank Hall (large hall), Sixth and Chestnut streets, in the city and county of Milwaukee, state of Wisconsin, on Thursday, January 18, 1912, at 8 p. m., to elect a board of directors and transact such other business as may properly come before said meeting. For the purpose of such meeting the stock transfer books will be closed January 13, 1912, at 6 o'clock p. m., and remain closed until January 19, 1912, at 8 a. m.

A large attendance is necessary to insure a quorum, and as our stockholders are widely scattered all over the country, it is urged that all stockholders attend, either in person or by proxy. If you cannot attend this meeting personally, kindly assist the tabulation of the proxies and prevent delay in calling the meeting to order promptly at the time specified, by having your proxy, properly filled out, filed with the secretary at the office of the company, not later than 3 o'clock p. m., January 18, 1912.

Dated, Milwaukee, January 2, 1912.

H. W. BISTORIUS, Secretary.

FORM OF PROXY

BE IT KNOWN, That I, _____

NAME OF SHAREHOLDER

of _____ County, State of _____

have constituted and appointed, and do hereby constitute and

appoint, _____ of Milwaukee

GIVE NAME AND POST OFFICE ADDRESS IN FULL

County, State of Wisconsin, to be my true and lawful substitute and

proxy, for me, and in my name and stead, to vote at the annual

meeting of the stockholders of the "Milwaukee Social-Democratic

Publishing Company," to be held January 18, 1912, or any and all

adjourned meetings thereof, as fully as I could if I were personally

present.

Witness my hand and seal this _____ day of _____, 1912.

Signed in presence of _____ (Seal)

SHAREHOLDER SIGN HERE

WITNESS SIGN HERE _____ Number of shares _____

Every Saturday

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

Published by the
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FREDERIC HEATH VICTOR L. BERGER
Editor Associate

The Herald is Not Responsible for Opinions
of its Contributors.

Entered at the Milwaukee Postoffice as Second-Class Matter, August 20, 1901.

An investigation is now being made into the party manipulative work of the publishing firm of Kerr & Co., which has not only been inculcating near-anarchist ideas among its readers, but has attempted to force near-anarchists on the national executive board in the pending election. This is one of several influences that are working for ill within the party. One of these is the work of E. E. Carr, who has been trying to make an inner party machine of the Christian Socialist Fellowship. Another is the work of one or two papers of large circulation that have been seeking to precipitate the party attitude along the line of sensationalism, in such matters as the McNamara case, etc.

Typical! Mr. John Spargo of the Socialist party officialdom charges Charles Kerr & Co. with "circulating" the S. P. locals in the interest of certain candidates for the N. E. C. Charles Kerr & Co. calls the charge a lie, and challenges proof. Thereupon, Mr. Spargo gives as "proof" certain statements by Frederic Heath in The Social Democratic Herald. —N. Y. People.

But it is "healthy" proof. The campaigning matter referred to was sent out on Kerr & Co. stationery.

Just the same it may be well for Editor Carr not to interpret that vote on national motion No. 9, as carte blanche to start in with a repetition of his former tommy-morganisms.

NEW YORK, Jan. 5.—Socialists of New York were much interested in the appearance of volume 1, No. 1, of The Common Cause, a monthly magazine, which has been organized to carry on systematic campaign against the Socialist propaganda. Theodore Roosevelt, William J. Bryan, Thomas A. Edison and Bird S. Coler are quoted in the January issue as expressing views against Socialism.

CINCINNATI, Jan. 5.—David Goldstein, the anti-socialist lecturer, refused to accept a challenge to debate his charge that Socialists are free lovers here. Goldstein was formerly a member of the Socialist party and held to the Jewish faith. He has renounced both his former political and religious affiliations and is at

Talks with Workingmen

Robin Hood and the Poor

By Robert Hunter
(Written for The Herald.)

If you want to spend a joyful hour read some time the merry adventures of Robin Hood. You will find in them many a pretty tale and not a little food for thought. Robin was a good man with a big, generous heart.

Having killed a man in a moment of passion he was forced to take to the woods and live the life of an outlaw. He hated the oppressors of the poor, and he never failed to accept any opportunity offered to rob fat priests, monopolists and usurers, and then to distribute his stealings among the poor.

About him was many a sturdy rogue, and they lived the merriest of lives, eating and drinking in Sherwood Forest.

Robin was very much the sort of man that many a ward boss is today. If you go into the headquarters of a Tammany politician or into Michael Kenna's or Johnny Powers' saloons in Chicago, you will find a great crew of men living a merry life upon money taken from rich corporations.

Not a few widows and orphans, not a few hard-pushed criminals, and not a few hopeless out-of-works find their sole sustenance in the generosity of the ward politician.

"Big Tim" Sullivan is a kind of modern edition of Robin Hood. When winter comes and the hoboes begin to flock into the Bowery, they know that "Big Tim" will see that they have warm woolen socks, a bed to sleep in, a mug of ale, and a free lunch.

When funds get low he starts out on a foraging expedition, and many a flinty capitalist hands over to him the funds to care for Tim's boys.

Once when the funds of Robin were low he turned beggar, and went out on the highway to replenish his coffers. He met a corn engrosser, that is to say, a man who had bought up all the corn, obtained a monopoly of it, and sold it back to the people at his own price.

He was a thin, weazened old miser, such as men of a similar occupation are likely to be. Robin first asked his help as any ordinary beggar would, and the corn engrosser snarled at him: "Now, out upon thee. Such sturdy rogues as thou, art better safe in prison, or dancing upon nothing with a hempen collar about thy neck."

"Tut," quoth Robin. "How thou talkest. Thou and I are brothers, man. Do we not take both from the people that which they can ill spare? Do we not make our livings by doing naught of any good? Do we not both live without touching palm to honest work? Have we either of us ever rubbed thumbs over honestly gained-farthings?"

After some parley Robin relieved the corn engrosser of a hundred bright golden pounds, and after a word of warning let him free to go his way.

Such is the story of Robin Hood, and a thousand stories very similar might be told of nearly every ward politician in this country. They are good fellows, radical enough in their way, despising the rich, befriending the poor.

Yet Robin let the corn engrosser go on his way to continue robbing the people with his little monopolies. And the awed politician lets the modern monopolists go on robbing the people.

In the hands of these politicians there is immense power. They could destroy monopoly, and create a condition of affairs in this country by which every man, woman and child could have plenty. If they exercised their political power wisely there need be no man out of work, no suffering, no poverty, no slums.

A system which consists of robbing the poor day in and day out these politicians support, and even help to fasten upon us. Generous but stupid, kindly but thick-skulled, nearly all of these politicians actually believe they are serving the poor friends about them by demanding of rich corporations a small per cent of their stealings to give alms to those who have been robbed.

They say to Wall street and to all the great trust magnates: "We will let you alone, we will even aid you in your robberies; but we demand that out of every hundred dollars of your stealings you give us one to distribute among the poor."

But after all merry Robin is not to blame nor is the open-handed politician. It is the people themselves, and until they gain wisdom and learn to use their strength they will continue to be robbed; in one age by Robin Hood and the corn engrosser, in another age by the ward politician and the trust magnate, in still another age by some other combination.

So long as people do not know that they are robbed, or are too stupid to devise means by which they can prevent robbery, just so long will there be men ready and willing to rob them.



Who Owns My Job Owns Me

Is Socialism Opposed to Religion?

By Will R. Shier

(Written for The Herald.)

It is said that Socialism is opposed to religion. But in what way is Socialism opposed to religion? Is there anything in the Socialist party platform inimical to religion? Has the international Socialist congress, or any other of its affiliated bodies, ever adopted a resolution aiming to destroy belief in a supreme being in a future life, in the divinity of Jesus—or in any other religious doctrine? Has any Socialist in any legislature at any time introduced a bill that sought to demolish the churches or to interfere with any one's religious ideas? All these questions must be answered unreservedly in the negative.

Then has the Socialist platform nothing whatever to say about religion? No. It has nothing to say about religion, except to say that the Socialist party is not concerned with it.

It is true that many Socialists are

avowed atheists. But it is also true that many Socialists are avowed Christians. Scores of clergymen belong to the Socialist party.

It is easy to quote attacks upon religion from the speeches and writings of certain eminent Socialists. And our unscrupulous opponents make liberal use of such quotations to discredit the Socialist movement in the eyes of religious people.

But is that a fair method of attack? Is it fair to condemn any organization because of the PERSONAL opinions of some of its members? And is it fair to dwell on the bitter things they have said while not giving them credit for the many sweet things they have said? Would it be fair to say that the Democratic party advocated vegetarianism because many Democrats are vegetarians? Or would it be fair to charge the Republican party with agnosticism because Robert Ingersoll, an ardent Republican, went up and down the land declaring that he did not

know whether there was any God or not? Certainly not. Well, a Socialist's religious belief, like a Republican's or Democrat's religious belief, has no more to do with his politics than the way he parts his hair.

That this is so may be quickly determined by asking yourself whether religion will not be just as safe under a government controlled by corporation magnates, whether there is anything in the nature of public ownership to make people irreligious or immoral, and whether labor legislation is likely to upset anyone's religious ideas.

If Socialists criticize the church it is because the church is so backward in espousing the cause of the working people. The only way the church can escape such criticism is to cease deserting it, by stepping into the ranks of those who are fighting for economic justice.

Causida.

vitaly instructive by any woman who may be fortunate enough to secure a copy. It sells for a dollar. Woman's physical life in its relation to her own health and to her offspring is treated of in a conversational sort of way, without waste of words, yet in easily understood language. It is a medical work, written by a well known physician, giving all the points that should be known, and yet almost a story. It reads so smoothly. There are twenty-five chapters, each a complete treatment of an important matter in connection with the life of woman. It is a book we do not hesitate to recommend.

"The Coming Order," by Lucy Re-Barlett, just issued by Longmans, is a very readable discussion of the subject of man and woman's position in society, maternity, and physical, spiritual and mental life, the law of being, the coming race, etc., all treated in essay form and suited to mature and reflective readers. Its price is 75 cents.

With Our Readers

FALSE INTERPRETATIONS OF SCRIPTURE

Mr. Editor: A hundred million times, perhaps, not an over-estimate of the repetitions that have been made in the English speaking words of the angel-song: "On earth peace and good will to man!" Such is not the language as recorded by the evangelists, and any tyro in Greek can see for himself any error in the original. It is one of the changes made by the King James translators. The true rendering is: "On earth peace to men of good will." For, "there is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked." Nor did Jesus proclaim peace to them in his fierce denunciation of the "generation of vipers."

There is another passage to which I wish to call attention in this connection. It is this: "The poor ye have always with you." This remark was made to Judas, who was the treasurer of the apostolic group and dispensed aid to the poor among the disciples of Jesus. Judas thought that the outmint with which Mary Magdalene anointed Jesus was a wash of value which might have been sold and the proceeds given to the poor comrades. And Judas so expressed himself. Jesus mildly rebuked him; and the meaning of the passage is this: "You will have your poor with you when I am gone from you. Do not blame Mary for she has performed a 'beautiful' act. This charming incident, so full of love and human sympathy, has been perverted into a 'strong' text in the interest of the robbers and exploiters. They lay the stress where it does not belong, and give to 'always' a meaning which is not its usual and regular meaning. The poor ye have always with you." His whole life and teaching grooves the very contrary to this. By this false interpretation, Jesus is made to pronounce the blighting curse of poverty upon the mass of mankind for all future generations! The existence of a class of wage-slaves in misery and poverty, thus becomes a "Divine Institution" to be perpetuated forever—just as it was once maintained that African slavery was a "Divine Institution."

WM. MACON COLEMAN.
Washington, D. C.

To the Herald.—The Rev. H. B. Hansen, pastor of the Baptist church,



Worker on Bridges and Buildings—That's right; all I risk is my life.

during a Sunday evening sermon on "Socialism Compared With Christianity," recently read a Socialist circular which he received 20 years ago at a debate on "Socialism Compared With Christianity" in Cooper's Union, New York city.

Moral: Plant thoughts on paper. Vineland, N. J. WM. J. SCHINER.

In answer to the Rev. Geo. E. Schroeder of Iowa, who would say that we fall to see how in any way we merit his charges relative to the McNamara's. If Lincoln Steffens over his own signature says things he does not approve of his argument is with Mr. Steffens, not with us. So far as we can see our correspondent's position and ours agree.

Washington Notes

(Continued from 1st page.)

White house, congress and the supreme court, organized capital maintains a number of lawyers and lobbyists to see that its interests are not neglected. The head office of organized capital is in the Union Trust building of this city, and the man in charge is James A. Emery.

Emery represents the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Erectors' association and about a dozen other national manufacturers' associations, besides being the official Washington representative of over a hundred state and city organizations of various kinds of employers.

Whenever a bill involving labor is argued before a committee of congress Emery, or one of his agents, is sure to come before the committee and ask that "the side of business interests be heard."

Of course, the committee is only too glad to have him come. It generally uses his arguments afterward as an excuse for turning down the proposed labor laws.

Whenever "public opinion" is needed to defeat a labor measure Emery gets it, and gets it in a hurry. The members of congress often express surprise as to the perfect and prompt workings of the Emery machine. Very often Emery gets hundreds of telegrams pouring in on members of congress within twenty-four hours of his wire to the various employers' organizations.

This man Emery is not only an able

lawyer and an orator, but is thoroughly posted on social and labor legislation. Recently he toured Europe to get arguments against the proposed bill for workmen's compensation. And he seems to have a pretty good grasp of the philosophy of Socialism, although he does not hesitate to twist and misrepresent its principles whenever he finds it advantageous to do so.

Emery is an ideal capitalist retainer and apologist.

Social Reformers Optimistic.

What was dangerously similar to a civil federation atmosphere pervading the boudoir-like lecture hall of the fashionable Raleigh hotel during the session of the various sociological association in this city.

The uplift note was prevalent. Dismal statistics on every conceivable subject could not dampen the cheerful optimism of the middle class radicals who came to Washington to patch up and keep running the present economic system. They all agreed that something had to be done or else the country would go to the bow-wows, or what seemed to many a much worse fate—Socialism.

Some of the performers had the real stuff with them but on the whole the meetings were dry, academic, lacking both in moral force and conviction.

PAPERS WE CLUB WITH.

You may have the Social-Democratic Herald and any of the following papers at the club rate listed below for one year.

Herald and The Milwaukee Leader.....	\$3.00
Herald and The Chicago Daily Socialist.....	3.00
Herald and Political Action.....	50
Herald and The Masses (a high class monthly Socialist magazine).....	1.00
Herald and The Rabel (a wide-awake Texas paper, especially adapted for Southwestern farmers, land renters and wage earners).....	50
Herald and Hope (the bright Socialist comic monthly).....	1.00

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Great Interest in German Elections

"January 12," says Hamilton Davis in his Berlin letter to The Boston Transcript, "will be the greatest day in German history since the war of 1870. The ultimate results of the national election to be held on that day will exert such an influence on transatlantic commerce, and likewise upon international relations, that students of politics ought to follow it with close attention. It has been called the 'to-be-or-not-to-be election,' inasmuch as upon its issue depends the continued existence of all the political and economical institutions which in the eyes of the outside world are modern Germany."

That is a somewhat grandiloquent way of stating that the upper classes of Germany fear a Radical and Socialist triumph at the polls on January 12, 1912.

The present reichstag (congress), twelfth since the union of Germany, expires in February, 1912, six years after its election in 1907.

The popular vote in 1907 was as follows:

Conservatives.....	2,050,000
Center (clerical and Catholic).....	2,145,000
National-Liberal (corresponding to the American democracy).....	1,716,000
Freisinn (radical).....	1,311,000
Socialist.....	3,259,000
Minor parties (Poles, etc.).....	745,000

Representative districts were apportioned in 1871. They were apportioned to leave control in the hands of the aristocracy. Since 1871 the industrial districts, in which Socialists and Radicals predominate, have grown in population far more rapidly than the old Conservative districts. In consequence, although the Socialists now cast more than twice as many votes as the Conservatives, they have less than half as many representatives in the reichstag or national congress. Germany is like Rhode Island in this respect. In Rhode Island a state little old depository called farming "towns" with only a scattered handful of residents have equal representation in the legislature with manufacturing cities containing ten to twenty times as many voters.

In Germany, as in the United States, manufacturing has during the past two decades been developed tremendously under the stimulus of high protective tariffs. A manufacturing and financial aristocracy has grown up, and aligned itself politically with the earlier military and clerical and landlord aristocracies. The masses of the workers, in city and country, have been exploited pretty much the same way they have been in the United States during the same period. German official tax reports assert the rise of over 8,000 new millionaires, mainly during that period. Last quantities of new wealth have been created, but it has not been distributed satisfactorily to the majority of the workers whose labor created it.

The German masters of industry, guided, apparently, by the Kaiser, have gone far ahead of the masters of America's great industries in measures to protect the masses of the workers against want due to accident, illness, enforced idleness and old age. The German system of compulsory industrial pensions is the most complex and far-reaching in the world.

Still it doesn't satisfy the German workers. They want more. The Socialists want the whole value of their labor product, less cost of operation, and the Radicals are not far behind in their demands. The National-Liberals are the half-and-half political element—the tariff-for-revenue-with-incidental-protection crowd—as nearly an American equivalent as can be found.

The Socialists and Radicals and Poles want radical tariff reductions, in order to get cheaper food and more of it.

If the Radical-Socialist-Polish groups elect a majority of the reichstag on January 12—and there is a bare possibility that they will, despite the absurdly unjust apportionment of representatives districts—Germany will enter upon a new era of lower import duties and liberal commercial treaties with Great Britain and the United States.

Also, the menace of war between Germany and Great Britain will be removed. The Socialist and Radical parties, almost wholly composed of workmen, are opposed to war. They have learned that wars are fought by the workingmen to benefit the aristocrats. The war spirit in Germany is kept alive (just as the demand for huge military armaments in the United States is kept alive) by the so-called "conservative" elements of society, which appeal to what they call "patriotism" in order to inflame German workmen against the workmen of Great Britain.—Frank Putnam.

The Builders' Column

By A. W. Mason

Herald Readers, You Have Worked Wonders

Many historic monuments are the result of your efforts. We are now off for a new record for 1912. Our aim is to make The Herald the most effective 1912 campaign literature—push The Herald circulation, always remembering where The Herald goes, Socialism and Socialist organization grows.

You Herald circulation boosters have worked wonders during 1911. All the big things we have accomplished in Milwaukee which have such a far-reaching effect on the Socialist movement in the entire country is the accumulative results of the efforts you have put forth.

You have transferred Brisbane hall from the realms of dreams to the world of facts. It is now a hive of Socialist and Labor union activity. The Milwaukee Leader is here and speaking loud with a voice that is heard across the continent as a result of your united efforts.

THE FUTURE OF THE HERALD.

It is now our object to make The Herald the most effective Socialist propaganda and educational paper on the continent.

With Brisbane hall a fact and The Milwaukee Leader in the field to care for local Milwaukee political affairs, we are free to fill the pages of The Herald with just the matter needed to make it a powerful propaganda and educational paper.

We want you to use it to develop the movement in your own locality to the point where you can establish your own local press. When that time comes The Herald will only be too pleased to leave the field to your local press as it has Milwaukee to The Milwaukee Leader.

DON'T FAIL TO READ THIS OFFER.

To each person sending in \$1.25 for a club of four yearly Herald subscriptions the History of the Milwaukee Campaigns and victories will be sent as a premium. If you want one you had better get busy as they are going fast.

The history of the early struggle, which led to the capture of Milwaukee is something you will all read with interest and appreciate in years to come. Every Socialist local should have a copy for ready reference for planning propaganda and political campaigns. You will find this History a mine of interesting and useful information.

GET HISTORY FOR YOUR LIBRARY.

The Socialist local in every town should secure one and present it to the public library so that it will be preserved for future generations. Many locals have secured the required number of subscribers and directed the History be sent to their town library. What do you think of the proposition?